

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 ISLAMA 05066 01 OF 02 221258Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----077441 221309Z /42  
O 221200Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7313

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 5066

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PEPR, CENTO, XD, US  
SUBJECT: FOREIGN "MINISTER" AGHA SHAHI'S CALL ON THE SECRETARY  
AT SSOD-25 MAY.

REF: (A) STATE 125800 (B) ISLAMABAD 4980 (C) KABUL 4018  
(D) TEHRAN 4547 (E) DELHI 7925

1. YOUR MEETING WITH FOREIGN "MINISTER" AGHA SHAHI ON  
25 MAY PROVIDES AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY FOR AN UPDATE  
ON HIS GOVERNMENT'S CONCERNS GROWING OUT OF THE AFGHAN  
COUP; IT PROVIDES EQUALLY AN OPPORTUNITY FOR SOME STRAIGHT  
TALK ABOUT OUR POLICY TOWARD AFGHANISTAN, OUR CONCERN FOR  
REGIONAL STABILITY, AND OUR DESIRE--AS WELL AS OUR  
ABILITY--TO BE RESPONSIVE TO PAKISTAN'S CONCERNS.

2. PAKISTAN'S ANXIETIES: AS NOTED IN REF B. THE  
COMMUNIST TAKEOVER IN AFGHANISTAN HAS BEEN TRAUMATIC FOR  
PAKISTAN; THE BUFFER WHICH THEY COUNTED ON TO SCREEN OFF  
DIRECT SOVIET OR EVEN SOVIET-PROXY ACTIVITIES IN THEIR  
IMMEDIATE BORDER AREAS IS GONE. THEY HAVE TURNED TO US  
(AND TO CENTO) TO ASK, "WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO --IN YOUR  
OWN INTEREST AS WELL AS OURS-- ABOUT  
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PAGE 02 ISLAMA 05066 01 OF 02 221258Z

THIS TURNABOUT IN COMMUNIST/NON-COMMUNIST FORTUNES IN  
THIS PART OF THE WORLD"?

3. THERE IS NOT ONLY A VASTLY DEEPENED SENSE OF INSECURITY  
IN PAKISTAN, BUT THERE IS AN EMERGING CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE  
IN US-PAK RELATIONS, BASED PARTIALLY ON A PERCEPTION HERE  
THAT WE ARE MINIMIZING THE DANGERS TO PAKISTAN INHERENT

IN THE KABUL COUP. SHAHI WILL WANT TO USE HIS MEETING WITH YOU TO EMPHASIZE THE DEADLY SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH PAKISTAN NOW CONFRONTS THE PROSPECT OF A SOVIET SATELLITE ON ITS WESTERN BORDE, WHILE EMPHASIZING AS WELL HIS CONTINUING CONCERNS ABOUT WHAT PAKISTAN SEES AS A RELATED DOWNTURN IN RELATIONS WITH INDIA.

4. SHAHI WILL BE LOOKING HARD FOR SOME TANGIBLE SIGN THAT THE US TAKES SERIOUSLY THE AFGHAN TURNABOUT AND ITS REGIONAL AND EAST-WEST IMPLICATIONS. IN PARTICULAR, HE WILL BE LOOKING FOR SOME SIGN THAT HIS REQUEST FOR F-5ES, WHICH PRE-DATES THE KABUL COUP, IS RECEIVING ACTIVE ATTENTION.

5. OUR RESPONSE: IN REAFFIRMING OUR INTEREST IN AND COMMITMENT TO PAKISTAN'S INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, WE SHOULD USE THE OPPORTUNITY (1) TO DISPEL ANY DOUBTS THE GOP MAY HAVE THAT WE FAIL TO VIEW EVENTS IN KABUL WITH SUFFICIENT CONCER, AND (2) TO BRACE SHAHI ON THE CONCERNS WE HAVE ABOUT PAKISTAN'S PRESENT COURSE AND THE IMPACT IT HAS ON OUR ABILITY TO MATCH OUR DESIRE TO HELP. CHIEF AMONG THESE ARE:

(A) THE REPROCESSING ISSUE: GEN. ZIA HAS RECENTLY PUBLICLY REITERATED HIS COMMITMENT TO A REPROCESSING PLANT. WHILE WE HAVE LONG RECOGNIZED THAT CANCELLATION

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PAGE 03 ISLAMA 05066 01 OF 02 221258Z

WILL HAVE TO COME FROM PARIS, NOT ISLAMABAD, WE NEED TO REMIND THE GOP OF THE IMPACT THE ISSUE HAS ON OUR ABILITY TO PROVIDE THE HELP WHICH THEY NEED AND WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO PROVIDE.

(B) THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION: WE COMMENDED GEN. ZIA'S INITIAL PROMISE OF QUICK RECOURSE TO ELECTIONS AND LAMENT THE CONTINUING UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THEM. WHILE MANY ACTIONS OF THE MLA ARE LEGITIMATE MEASURES AGAINST THOSE WHO WOULD OVERTURN IT BY ILLEGAL MEANS, RECOURSE TO PREVENTIVE DENTION, RESTRICTIONS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND ASSEMBLY, AND USE OF THE LASH HAVE AROUSED UNDERSTANDABLE HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS.

(C) THE NARCOTICS SITUATION: DESPITE GEN. ZIA'S PERSONAL INTERVENTION, NOTHING HAS BEEN DONE TO CLOSE DOWN THE HEROIN LABS IN THE TRIBAL AREAS, AND WE ARE CONCERNED--GIVEN THE BUMPER OPIUM POPPY CROP--THAT THE SITUATION WILL GROW WORSE IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

6. SHAHI SHOULD BE TOLD FACE-TO-FACE THAT THE US DOES CARE ABOUT THIS REGION, ABOUT REGIONAL STABILITY AND

SECURITY, AS WELL AS ABOUT THE BROADER EAST-WEST IMPLICATIONS OF THE KABUL COUP. HE SHOULD ALSO BE REASSURED FORCEFULLY THAT WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF PAKISTAN. BUT HE SHOULD BE TOLD WITH EQUAL CANDOR THAT PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR US POLICY AND PROGRAMS IN THIS AREA IS CONDITIONED BY SUCH ISSUES AS THE REPROCESSING PLANT, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND NARCOTICS:

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PAGE 01 ISLAMA 05066 02 OF 02 221256Z  
ACTION SS-25

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-----077430 221310Z /50  
O 221200Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7314

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 5066

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

(A) IF PAKISTAN PERSISTS WITH THE REPROCESSING PLANT, OUR HANDS WILL BE TIED BY LAW FROM PROVIDING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND MILITARY TRAINING, AND BY A CLIMATE WHICH WILL MAKE POSITIVE ACTION ON MILITARY SALES DIFFICULT;

(B) POSITIVE MOVEMENT TOWARD ELECTIONS WILL ALLAY OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC CONCERNS ABOUT POSSIBLE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS IN PAKISTAN; POPULAR GOVERNMENT MIGHT ALSO IMPROVE PAKISTAN'S SENSE OF SECURITY FROM WITHIN;

(C) WE WOULD ALSO HOPE THAT PAKISTAN WOULD GET SERIOUS ABOUT CONTROLLING NARCOTICS, SO THAT THIS QUESTION WILL NOT ALSO BECOME A CONTENTIOUS ISSUE IN OUR RELATIONSHIP.

(D) WE WILL BE LOOKING FOR OPPORTUNITIES TO MANIFEST OUR SUPPORT FOR PAKISTAN IN THE MONTHS AHEAD. WE WILL WANT TO BE SUPPORTIVE ON PL 480, BUT IN THIS AND OTHER AREAS, SUCH AS BROADER ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND MILITARY SALES, OUR ABILITY TO RESPOND WILL BE CONDITIONED BY

THE PROGRESS MADE IN AREAS OF IMPORTANCE TO U.S. INTERESTS.

(E) IN THE MEANTIME WE WILL GIVE URGENT ATTENTION  
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PAGE 02 ISLAMA 05066 02 OF 02 221256Z

TO OUR REVIEW OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE KABUL COUP FOR  
AREA SECURITY AND STABILITY AND WAYS IN WHICH THE PARTIES  
CONCERNED, INCLUDING THE US, SHOULD RESPOND TO THESE  
IMPLICATIONS. WE URGE THE REGIONAL POWERS, I.E. IRAN,  
PAKISTAN, AND INDIA, TO DO THE SAME AND TO SHARE IDEAS  
AND IMPRESSIONS AMONG THEMSELVES AND WITH US.  
HUMMEL

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